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Vanderlip, Frank Arthur

The need for a united
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The Need for a United Nation

F. A. VANDERLIP

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The Need for a United Nation

F. A. VANDERLIP

President

The National City Bank
of New York

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE

The American Bankers' Association
Kansas City, Mo.

September, 1916

Ms. A. 9. 2. 117

The Need for a United Nation

There has rarely been a time when there were more subjects of interest which might be chosen for discussion before a convention of bankers. We have had two years' experience with the Federal Reserve Act, a law which introduced factors fundamentally novel to our banking system. One might well stop at this time and make some attempt to appraise this law in the light of the experience which we have had with it. It would be interesting to inquire just what its operations have demonstrated, just how it has commended itself to the experienced banking judgment. One might well inquire whether a banking system where the membership is almost wholly compulsory, where scarcely a bank which has been permitted voluntary choice has chosen to enter it, has been established in its permanent form; and it would be pertinent to inquire in particular whether a banking system half Federal and half State, half held together by compelled membership and half free from the authority of the Federal governing power is permanent.

You are familiar with one of the great utterances of Lincoln, when he said:

"I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it to cease to be divided. It will become all one or all the other."

Would it be improper to paraphrase that great utterance in discussing the present position of our bank-

ing system? Can a banking system endure, half compulsory and half free? Will it not become all one thing or all the other?

We all quite frankly understand, of course, why practically no bank has voluntarily subjected itself to the action of the Federal Reserve Law. It is no secret why State banks decline to become members of the Federal Reserve system. They are apprehensive of the sort of regulation which has recently been imposed upon National banks. They are not desirous of subjecting themselves to the sort of autocratic supervision under which the whole National banking system has grown restive.

I am not, however, going to discuss the Federal Reserve Act nor Federal supervision of banking. I am not going to discuss the fallacy of decentralization which has been a controlling motive in much recent legislation and regulation. Had I chosen to discuss the Federal Reserve Act, I would have reached a conclusion that it embodies sound fundamental principles too valuable, indeed, too essential, to our financial life to be abandoned, the free working of which, however, has been entangled and hampered in its inception by political considerations and administrative attitude to such an extent as to endanger the success of what should rightly be the most important step ever taken in American banking.

I might have chosen for a subject the sensational influx of gold that seems dangerously likely to submerge us in our own prosperity. It would be most interesting to attempt an analysis of the ultimate effect on prices, on our national welfare, of this unprecedented accumulation of reserve money. It would be worth while to study what is likely to be the ultimate effect upon our money market of this importation of gold, as

well as the potential possibilities for inflation in the Federal Reserve Act itself. It would be interesting, too, to speculate on the effect likely to be manifested in money rates and in the distribution of business following the creation of the new types of credit provided by the recent laws authorizing domestic acceptances and the mobilization of farm loans.

I should be glad to speak about international trade and banking, subjects full of vital and pressing interest, presenting an insistent demand that our bankers begin to think internationally and that we all better understand the principles of the science of banking. The subject of the better training of men for the wider field that American banking is to occupy, is, in itself, of great importance. It would be well worth while to give consideration to the matter of the relation of bankers to the present opportunity and demand for the foreign investment of American capital, to the inclination of capital in this country to seek employment to a reasonable degree in foreign fields not subject to the tendency toward unwise regulation that is encountered in some of our political tendencies. Or one might go further afield and attempt some analysis of what the vast expenditure of wealth, the creation of incomprehensible totals of national indebtedness, the gigantic issues of paper currency and the depreciation of national monetary standards which we are witnessing in Europe, are likely to mean to the world at large and to us in particular.

These are a few of the fruitful subjects that might well engage our attention as bankers, but there are times in the world which call men away from their personal and immediate interests. There are periods that compel them to think together of fundamental things. Surely the present is such a time. It seems almost

idle to discuss the working of banking statutes when we can discern, even though dimly, the working of great laws in the statute book of human nature and society, whose action is so fundamental and important as to make our men-made laws and their workings seem inconsequential in comparison. We are in a time when it is of the utmost importance that we think socially and fundamentally. These are not days when we can give our thoughts exclusively to our business, to our immediate affairs. They are days that demand that we think nationally and internationally rather than individually or as a business class. We are confronted by an insistent need for comprehending fundamentals.

Society in its international organization and relations seems to have broken down. The most highly civilized nations of the world, those most advanced in learning, most enlightened in culture, most efficient and practical in affairs, are turned aside from all the achievements which signify progress and are grappling with each other in a veritable death struggle. Primitive impulses seem as strong as they ever were at any time in the world's history. Without any discussion of the relative responsibility for this outbreak, the fundamental fact appears to be that the world is yet deplorably deficient in social capacity. Nations cannot live beside each other without fighting out questions of supremacy, without raising issues that lead men gallantly to make every sacrifice of effort, of wealth, of life, at the dictation of government. Then there is the further result of national hatreds engendered which will last generations beyond any pact of peace that can be drawn. The world has proven itself to be deplorably deficient in what Emerson called "facility of association"; in other words, in that degree of comprehension which enables men to understand each other and work for the com-

mon good. Unquestionably, that ability is the best fruit of civilization. It is that ability that is the chief distinction between the civilized man and the barbarian. Civilization, we have supposed, endowed men with the capacity for organization, with the vision which would lead to a willingness to subordinate the individual to the good of society and thus to the greater good of the individual.

This revelation of incapacity, of undevelopment, which Europe has given, comes as a startling surprise to most of us. It has long been a common warning of the pessimist that human nature is just the same as it always has been,—but we have not believed that. To believe it would be to lose faith in the best impulses and visions of life. We had come to feel almost certain that the general European war, long talked of, had been postponed until it would never occur, that human nature had changed sufficiently so that a better social understanding would prevent it; that the common sense of mankind would make it impossible. In that we have been disappointed. Public opinion in every belligerent country regards the war as a defensive necessity, although the common judgment within each country condemns war. So the war goes on because of the sheer inability of the peoples to come to a state of mutual understanding and confidence, and there is to be seen little ground for hope that the end is near. Fearful as the cost has been in effort, in treasure, and in life, there seems ahead the inevitable tragedy of greater cost, of heavier blows to the fabric of civilization, before anything like common viewpoints can be reached.

The countries engaged in this bewildering contest are not inhabited by some strange, faraway peoples, whose habits of thought and whose social ideas are

alien to us, whose mental processes are inexplicable. They are of our blood, the sort of men and women of whom this nation is made up. There are no fundamental differences between us and the peoples of the belligerent countries of Europe. Nothing is happening there that might not as well be happening within our own borders to our own people. It is true that we are more happily situated geographically, that we have a natural defence of broad oceans, but it is true, too, that we must be awake to the fact that we are of the same blood and sinew, with the same incapacities, the same social misunderstandings, the same lack of insight, of patience, of vision, and the same immaturity of judgment that has made it impossible for the people of these European nations to deal with a great crisis except through force.

If ever a people should pause, therefore, and take stock; if ever they should look abroad and profit by the experience of others, should comprehend their national dangers in the light of the terrible realities that are being enacted before their eyes in other nations, it is now and we are that people.

We must first recognize some of the practical facts of civilization which the last two years have brought into terrible emphasis. War is a fearful reality. It is a disaster that can come upon any people, no matter how peaceful their intentions, how high their civilization, how great their culture. It is a reality for us to reckon with. The modern human mind has not before comprehended what a horrible disaster war may be, but there is no reason for not now opening our eyes to it, because its realities are plainly before us. That is why I think there are today matters of such fundamental importance for us to consider that

I have chosen to pass over the engrossing subjects directly related to our business life that might have been discussed.

Underneath any question relating merely to business, or even to social welfare, or the relative claims of different classes of society, is the question of our national integrity and the means that it is necessary to employ to insure the continuance of that integrity. In a word, I believe the greatest need of the day—and a need so fundamental as to make other matters inconsequential in comparison—is the need of universal military, industrial and economic preparedness. That does not mean ships and armament alone. We have taken a tardy but substantial step toward remedying the neglect of recent years. That neglect might prove the foundation of a terrible national catastrophe, but at least we have now awakened to action so far as Congressional appropriations go.

Modern warfare is largely a matter of machinery, but more than ever before in history it is also a matter of human organization. A modern soldier must be a more highly trained man than a soldier ever needed to be before. I believe that the surest insurance of peace this country can have is the universal training in military service of its men. I admit that perhaps there is no other subject regarding which I have so diametrically changed my opinions. I once thought you could count universal military service as an economic waste. I feel confident, in the light of the events of the last two years, that it is not only a military necessity of superlative importance, but that our national life would draw a unity, our democracy would receive a reinvigoration, and our youth would obtain a physical training and comprehension of the

value of obedience and a patriotic devotion to the welfare of the nation, which could be obtained in no other way.

Here in the heart of the middle west I can well see how there has been but partial awakening to the significance of the portentous events of the last two years. I have heard a governor of an adjoining state boast that as his state had no seacoast, his people had little interest in the military madness with which the world is afflicted. Let a man-of-war, with guns that outrange our coast defences, stand off from New York or San Francisco and levy a tribute as the price of saving these cities from destruction, and the disaster would be as quickly communicated to this great middle west as would the crushed hand or foot to the heart of a man!

I have a vivid memory of our unpreparedness in 1898. The confusion, the inefficiency, the wasted effort, were all humiliating. We have made no advance in trained organization since those days, but the rest of the world has. The scale of military operations to which the belligerent nations have become accustomed sinks into insignificance anything we have known before. In the recent drive on the Somme, the British troops alone lost on each of ten successive days more men than the entire losses of those who fought Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo. The prodigious size of the military machines of the belligerent nations is almost beyond our comprehension. It would be so completely beyond our present combative effort that we might better be forehanded in providing a sufficient number of white flags, if we are not adequately prepared otherwise. Today, we are a nation grown unprecedentedly rich, lying almost unprotected against the invasion of whoever wills to come. It no longer suffices to say

that it is unthinkable that, with our peaceful intentions, we could be seriously attacked. The man to whom such a disaster is unthinkable has a defective imagination. He has failed to interpret the great events of our day and is, I believe, dangerous to the welfare of our country.

If we are to have anything like true preparedness, however, it must embrace much besides physical training. Back of physical training there must be moral training. There must be the creation of a public opinion that will think deeply and clearly regarding the great international questions that we are facing. We have need for developing a clear-cut, clear-sighted public opinion that will see things as they are and that will have courage without audacity, firmness without impetuosity. We need to have what we have not now—a public opinion that would not permit a shuffling attitude in regard to international issues, an opinion that would make temporizing in the handling of our foreign relations impossible where fundamental principles are involved. The greatest preparedness that we can possibly have is the awakening of this country to a clear-sighted comprehension of what our relations to the rest of the world today involve. We must have a nation that cannot be lulled to drowsiness by words, but will decisively demand consistent, clear-sighted leadership, will demand a government policy so sincere, so logical, so obviously the expression of a firm and united nation, that there can be won back the respect for the United States, and even the friendship of the other nations of the earth.

This means not only clear seeing and right thinking, but it means a moral awakening which will lead men to make decisions that entail sacrifice when such decisions are required. It means that we must recog-

nize that questions of money-making, of prosperity, of the division of profits, are superficial and trivial compared with the deeper and encompassing problems of our national relationships.

Misunderstandings between nations are not the only misunderstandings that threaten society and impede progress. There may be within a nation such misunderstandings. I believe that one of the most portentous signs of the times is the evidence of such misunderstandings within our own nation. The very foundation of the social structure may be shaken by class antagonisms and those antagonisms may be inspired by mistaken views of class interests. I believe that such antagonisms could be largely dissipated by a clearer understanding of the economic and social factors involved, and that the highest duty rests upon us, first, to understand those factors ourselves, and then, with all the influence that we have, to spread that understanding through a wider field.

The fallacious idea that there is an inevitable conflict of class interests is urged by thousands of persons. They may be earnest in their belief that there is such an inevitable conflict of class interests. Most of them, however, are uninformed, prejudiced, fanatical, but dangerously effective in their agitation. The propaganda goes on around us with tremendous force and it is not receiving from men like us the attention which its mischievous influences demand that we give it. It is the same sort of fallacy, the same type of narrow and misguided spirit, the same want of insight, sympathy, and understanding, which, working in one nation as against another, brings on war. It is my belief that war itself is scarcely more dangerous to a nation or more deadly to industrial progress than are

some of the influences that are at work within our own boundaries.

If there is loss to the community in having men withdrawn from industry to take part in the activities or the deadly conflict of war, then there is loss in having the efficiency of men curtailed or diminished in any manner. The moment that proposition is stated we are face to face with the fact that a large proportion of our people do not understand that the community, as a whole, is interested in the increase of production. There is, on the contrary, a prevailing idea that the wage earning class is interested in restricting production. They hold to that view because they believe that the employer is a natural enemy, or more often, that there is not enough work to go around to all laboring men, and, therefore, that it should be made to go as far and last as long as possible. It is easy enough to see how such a fallacy has been bred by the alternating periods of activity and depression in the past. It is, of course, one of the greatest of all economic fallacies. There could scarcely be a greater drag upon industry or a greater impediment to general progress than to have such an idea fixed generally in the minds of men. Such a fallacy generally held is actually worse than war, for when war runs its course, recuperation can follow, but when the idea of restriction of production as a means to secure individual prosperity becomes fixed in men's minds, it has the same effect upon production that a perpetual drought would have upon grain fields.

However natural it may be to feel impatient with the man who honestly holds such views, impatience is useless. As long as he holds these views, he will act upon them as you or I act upon our views. His opinion

is a fact to be dealt with. It is as real as a mountain where you want to build a roadway. In the case of the mountain, we do not get impatient, but we endeavor to survey it and find a way over or through it. Fortunately, erroneous opinions, however stubbornly held, are more like an ice-bank than a mountain. They will eventually melt away and disappear before the truth—if not in one generation, in another. Understanding of economic laws seems to me almost the greatest need of our day. No body of men will act contrary to their own interests when they know what their interests are. The spread of a sound comprehension of economic laws seems to me, therefore, one of the greatest duties that go with the responsibilities of bankers.

Organized industry is necessary to our present standard of living. We cannot live apart or provide wholly for ourselves; we must work with others; we are obliged to be partners, and in a partnership each is bound to do his level best. Whatever controversies there may be about wages or other divisions of the product, there ought to be agreement upon honest, sincere effort to increase all production for the common good. Not to co-operate to this end is to be disloyal to the community. It weakens the system by which progress must be achieved, and upon which the welfare of all who come after us depends. There is an obligation and responsibility here of the most binding character, and the people who best understand this principle will surely lead in world affairs.

It is the duty of everyone of us to do what we can to induce wage-earners to examine their relations to the industrial system as a whole and to be loyal to the industrial system as a whole, rather than to any narrow and mistaken opinion of class interest. The whole idea

of separate class interests is an illusion and, if cherished, fatal to the welfare of all classes. You cannot make food, coal, clothing, housing, transportation, or even automobiles, dear, with benefit to any class, and least of all to the wage-earning class. I would appeal, however, with equal energy to the sense of loyalty and responsibility of the employer. By virtue of his position he has a larger outlook than the wage-earner at the bench, a more intimate contact with affairs, and his responsibility is correspondingly greater. He ought to be so consistently loyal to that responsibility that his example will spread the doctrine. I would urge nothing impracticable or revolutionary, but simply that policy of fair play which, when established in all relations, will rid business life of suspicion and reproach. There can be no radical or sweeping change in industry, but changes beneficial to all can be hastened if there is the vision to prompt it. The entire community is interested in safe-guarding the health and promoting the vigor, skill and efficiency of all our people. Wherever we are related to that problem as employers we have a duty to perform, and wherever we can deal with it as citizens we have another. We have to see to it that the new generation of industrial recruits come to their work with a better preparation, physical and mental, than did their predecessors. This is for the common interest.

Nobody can make as much money in a poverty-stricken community as in a rich community. If everybody in the United States could be kept in health and completely employed all the year round, and made skillful in some occupation, the volume of business and the rise of wages and profits would outstrip the records of this war boom, and it would be permanent business.

We hope that in this organization of industry which

is progressing, means may be found to maintain a better state of balance in the industries so that the extremes of activity and of depression, and the distressing periods of unemployment, may be mitigated. One of the great economic losses that falls upon a community follows from this lack of balance. The waste to the community that comes from having able-bodied men in idleness is perhaps even a more serious waste than results from having able-bodied men under the discipline of army life. No problem is more worthy of investigation by associations of business men than this one of reducing by more even production the amount of idleness, voluntary and involuntary. The most practical effort toward solving this problem of unemployment has followed the organization of industry into stronger units. Industry so organized is equipped with greater reserve resources. Large industrial units tend to steady both prices and production and to give greater regularity to employment. If this were more clearly understood, it would offer a potent argument against government interference with economical large-scale production.

The most important economic factor in industrial organization to-day is the equipment with which men work, the machinery, the material industrial plant. The mechanical plant multiplies the workman's capacity over and over. It not only multiplies his capacity, but as a rule, enables him to do the work more easily. Compare the manual labor, the toil necessary to produce a bushel of wheat or a ton of steel with the effort necessary fifty years ago. Everywhere in industry we see this process of increasing the productiveness and easing the toil of labor by providing better tools. This improvement of industrial plants is clearly in the common interest. Every man works for the

common fund. If a community were hiring a man to cut its wood, it would not deliberately send him out with a dull axe. Just as truly is it of importance to the national community to be equipped with industrial plants of the highest efficiency. No man should work without a tool if a tool can be devised to increase his capacity or reduce the expenditure of effort to attain a result.

But tools cost money. Before they can be had, there must be a command of capital. They represent savings. It is the new savings, the new capital, which pays for the experiments, develops the new machinery, builds the new industrial plants, and thereby creates the additional demand for labor and increases production.

Now in this connection, I should like to make a point that I believe would be of great national significance if it were generally understood. Every time a workman puts a dollar in a savings bank he has contributed to increasing the wage fund. With the new capital thus created there will inevitably be additional money to pay out in wages. If we will but trace the process, we will see that its action is automatic, certain, inevitable. If the fund of capital seeking investment increases, and every dollar put in a savings bank does increase the fund of capital seeking investment, the result of that increase in capital must necessarily be further industrial development. It is true that the savings bank may, in the first instance, invest these dollars, let us say, in an old railroad bond, issued many years ago the original proceeds of which long since went into construction, but somebody sold that bond and, in turn, had the new capital fund for reinvestment, and somewhere along the line inevitably this new capital must go into productive activity, and in so

doing must make a larger wage fund upon which labor can draw and a new demand for labor. Now we are in a period when the destruction of the world's capital is going on at an appalling rate. Is it not, then, of the greatest importance that every effort should be made to replace this destroyed capital? There will be great need for capital in the years to come when reconstruction is going on. Our command over capital is of vast importance to the comfort and welfare of our people. If we could impress upon every workman that he will contribute directly and inevitably toward an increased demand for labor and that he will add to the wage fund and tend to increase the rate of wages by every dollar of savings, I believe it would have a profound effect upon our national welfare.

But the argument in regard to fresh capital may well go further than that. While a dollar saved by a workman helps to give to some workman a job, so does every other dollar of savings, whether it comes from wages, or interest, or profits. The economic effect of a dollar saved and invested is just the same, whether the owner is a wage earner, an employer or an heir of inherited wealth. Income, however it originates, that is saved and put to reproductive uses, performs an inevitable service for society. Every form of savings finally seeks investment, and if you will follow the investment through to its ultimate reaction, you will see it putting men to work, you will see it enlarging the agricultural, the industrial, or the transportation equipment of the community, you will see it creating new demands for labor, raising the rate of wages and increasing the production of things which men desire. If the savings are devoted to reproductive purposes, it makes no difference whether they are the savings of the workman or the millionaire. They

ultimately accomplish the same result; they increase the supply of things that the whole community wants.

If that view is sound, it demonstrates that there is a fundamental unity in society which no power or conspiracy can do away with. Individuals may be selfish, they may scheme for personal and temporary advantage but whatever gains they make, insofar as they are saved and turned into reproductive capital, react to the benefit of the whole community. If there is such a fundamental unity in society, then any class conspiracy to gain advantage for that class is futile. The employing class is dependent upon the wage-earning class for a market. The farmer cannot eat his own crop, or employers trade goods with each other. If there is increased production, it must go to the only possible consumers, the masses, and none can be so interested in every movement that will increase production as the masses.

People talk vaguely and sympathetically about bettering the condition of the wage-workers, too often with little comprehension of industrial conditions. They treat it as a matter of sentiment and choice, instead of what it is, viz.: a result dependent upon more effective organization and a more harmonious spirit in industry. The betterment of industrial conditions will come in the future as it has come in the past, by increasing the industrial output, never by policies restricting the output.

We have heard a good deal about a "new freedom". I tell you that any new freedom that seeks to make conditions where inefficient managers of business can successfully compete with enterprising and capable managers of business is a dangerous sort of freedom. Any system which aims at hampering the enterprising and the capable, circumscribing men of vision and

originality for the purpose of protecting and supporting other men who lack those qualities, is not only vicious in its morals, but is bound to be disastrous in its economic effects, in just the proportion that it is successful. Inefficient employers are not the ones who raise wages. They could not raise wages if they would. The important thing in our industrial life is not that any particular individual or concern shall be kept in business, but that business shall be so conducted that production goes on in the most economical manner. We frequently make the mistake of putting too much emphasis upon the division of present profits and too little emphasis upon the development of industry. Suppose a man of superior skill with the aid of large capital and the introduction of the most efficient methods does make a great fortune where none existed before, who really profits by it? The answer is that society will get all of it that he does not eat or wear out. His savings, just as much as the savings of his humblest employee, must find their way into reproductive employment. The industrial plant somewhere will be increased. Production will in turn be cheaper and society will be the gainer.

I believe in the essential unity of society the world over, but I hold it to be no unworthy sentiment to have a special interest in the development of a spirit of unity in my own country. We cannot be one people without a knowledge of our common interests. The war with all its horrors and burdens for the people engaged in it, is not an unmitigated evil, and one of the benefits is the growth of the spirit of national unity in these peoples. There is no doubt that if all class misunderstandings are not cleared away, at least there is better knowledge and greater mutual respect. They have seen each other show the true metal and

make the supreme sacrifice, and the extremes of society are nearer together there than they have ever been before. It will be easier for them to discuss their differences than before, while in this country on the other hand there is danger that the antagonisms which vex and obstruct industry will be intensified by the conditions during and following the war.

Under the pressure of necessity, the British people have become enormously more productive. Industry has been lifted out of the ruts of custom and rule, initiative has had free play, machinery has given new powers to the workers and organization has been modernized with results that have been a revelation. The war wages cannot be paid upon commercial work after the war if production falls back to the old methods, but they can be paid if production is maintained by the new methods. There is anxiety about the future, but the best observers do not believe the British workman, now that the demonstration has been made, will go back to the old limitations and the old pay. They believe wages will be bigger and costs lower than before the war, and that the difference in the cost of production may offset the interest on the war debt. The cost of living is high there now, owing in part to the high freights on all importations, but after the war is over these costs will decline rapidly and if wages can be kept at the present level the condition of the wage-earning class will be better than before.

Will industry in the United States make the same progress? There is warning in the fact that adversity is usually a better teacher than prosperity. The latter comes by fortuitous circumstances and we enjoy it, relax, and take our ease, while adversity puts men upon their mettle and calls up all their resources. In some respects we shall be stronger after the war. We

shall be richer, our productive equipment will be better than ever before, but these will not avail without a spirit of unity and good understanding in our industrial organization. The account we give of ourselves will depend at last upon the men behind the machines. We have an opportunity such as no country ever had to lay the sure foundations of a great future, but we must not lose our heads. We must be an harmonious and efficient people. We must work for our common interests, employer and wage-earner striving together, and the Government backing them up as it properly can. We must not be so intent upon dividing the proceeds of present prosperity that we fail to safeguard its permanence.

To just the degree that each of us is wise, it seems to me that we should each see that at the present time we have some extraordinary duties of citizenship, duties that transcend in importance and are more fundamental to the welfare of ourselves and our children than any of those things that may seem more closely related to our business lives. These duties of citizenship involve the giving of serious thought to the vast currents that are shaping our affairs today. It is the personal duty of each of us better to understand our relations to these world movements and to bring to the decisions regarding our national attitude a fine spirit, a spirit of courage and determination to uphold our own just rights, and, if necessary, to make present sacrifice for future welfare. We should open our minds to the facts of life as they are presented today in our affairs, recognizing that, no matter how rich and brave a people may be, they cannot meet organized opposition without adequate preparation and organization of their own, without making reasonable preparation for any contingency.

While on the one hand we are turning our attention toward foreign relations, we should, with proper sympathy, but with sound economic understanding, seek to harmonize those differences in our own social order which may become more dangerous than anything that threatens us from the outside. Seek to have yourself and to help others to have a true spirit of unity. That spirit is the natural result of knowledge that our interests are mutual and interdependent. There are few things more important to this country today than that such knowledge shall be disseminated. If the leaders of industry understand it themselves, they can disseminate it. The wise business man does not quarrel with difficulties; he makes a study of them and overcomes them. If he cannot overcome them, he is not a successful leader, and some one else should have his position of influence. It is a rule of the business world to require results, not excuses that put the blame somewhere else. Let us go home with a sense of responsibility upon us, and at our own desks, and in the business men's associations of which we are members, do our part to spread a general knowledge of this fundamental truth that all social and industrial activities are thoroughly interdependent and that society's welfare will be promoted in the degree that co-operation and fair play are developed.

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